

THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

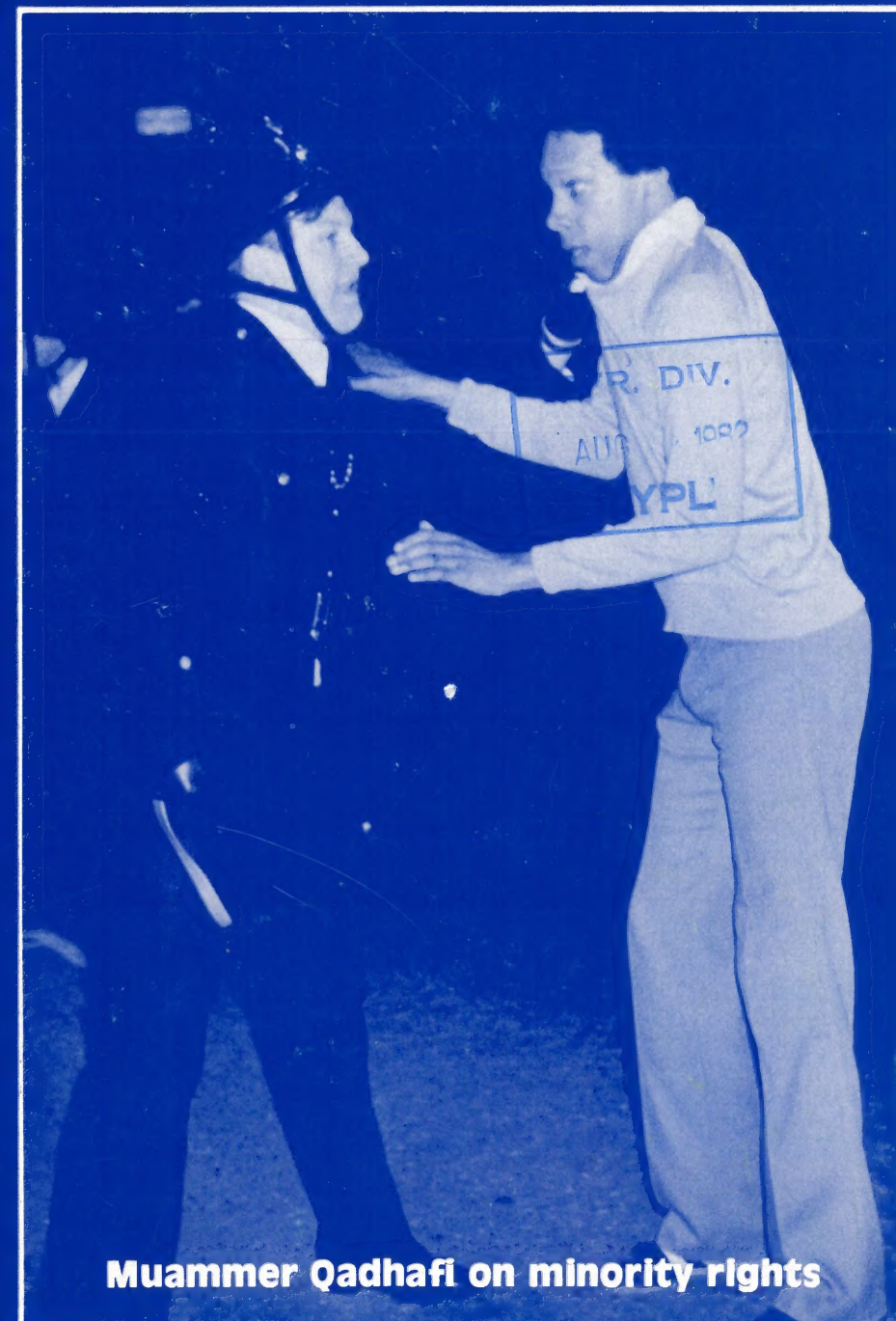
Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

May 1981

Price 50p

Special Report: BRITAIN AND THE LIBYAN JAMAHIRIYA

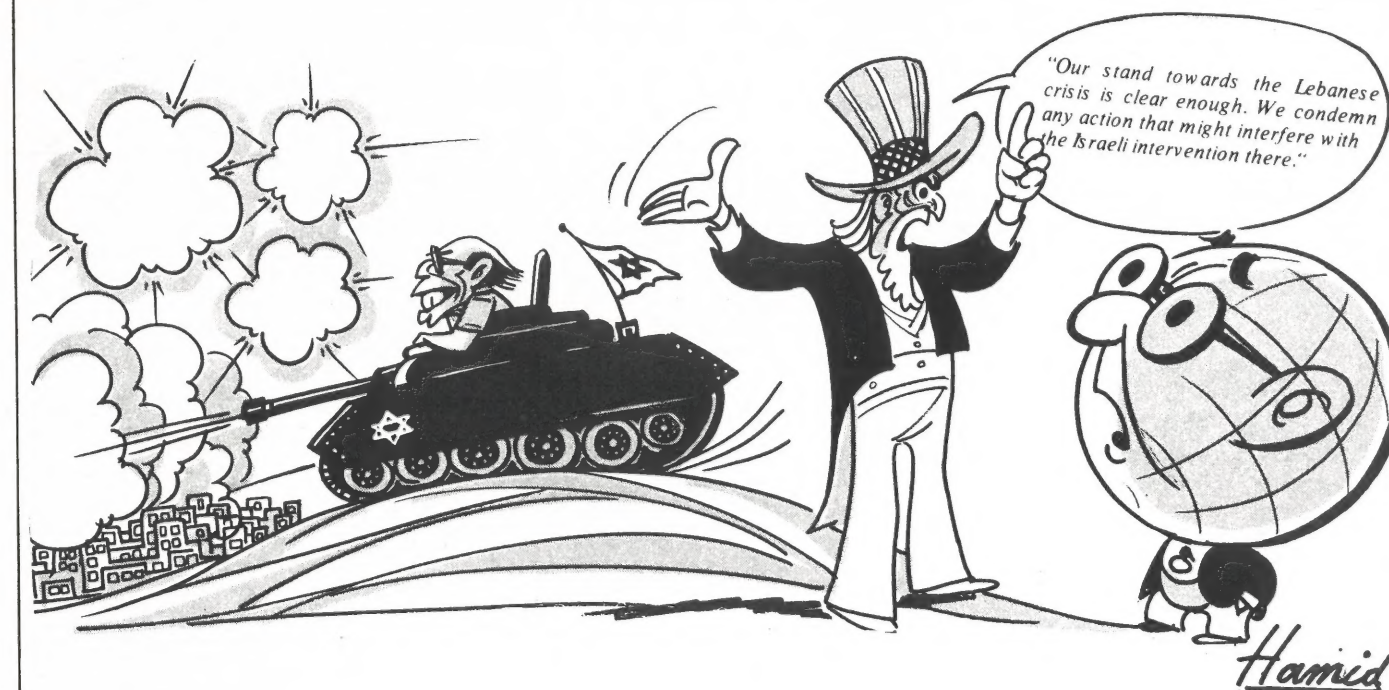


Muammer Qadhafi on minority rights

Also in this issue:

The press and Western foreign policy
The apartheid state in Palestine

Cartoon Comments



jamahiriya review

Issue No 12

May 1981

SPECIAL REPORT: In a special 5 page report, we examine the state of relations between Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya. The Secretary of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in London talks about the need to strengthen relations on the basis of mutual respect between two independent states, and discusses outstanding issues between the two countries which are currently under negotiation. Dr Alan George reviews Britain's growing export trade with the Jamahiriya, and examines one special project which underlines the co-operation between British expertise and Libya.

MEDIA ANALYSIS: In the first of a regular series of articles, Louis Eaks reviews recent coverage of Libyan affairs in the western press, and considers the role of the media in presenting the foreign policy of western governments.

AMERICAN FRONT: The creation of a new geopolitical bloc to divide the Arab homeland, and boost US influence throughout East Africa, is the motive behind the strengthening of relations between the Sudan and Egypt. David Butter looks at recent events in the Sudanese capital, and considers the important and far-reaching implications.

APARTHEID IN PALESTINE: On the anniversary of the occupation of Palestine by the Zionist settlers, Ali Aziz looks at the discrimination faced by the Palestinian Arabs who remained in their homeland under Zionist occupation in 1948.

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Published by Jamahiriya Review, 13A Hillgate Street, London W8 7SP. Telephone: 01-727 3131. Telex: 892830 Event G. Printed by W F Aldridge & Company Limited, London SW16 6NW. We acknowledge the co-operation of the Jamahiriya News Agency, JANA, in providing its daily information bulletin.

Between East and West there is a third way

THE RECENT visit to Moscow by Muammer Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, has, predictably, been exploited by the western press to portray the Jamahiriya as a Soviet satellite. Nevertheless, this is far from the truth. The Third Universal Theory, on which the Al Fateh Revolution is based advocates positive non-alignment in foreign affairs and directly challenges the right of the super-powers to interfere in the internal affairs of independent states. If western nations chose to close their doors and their minds to friendly relations with Libya, this cannot mean that the Jamahiriya should refuse to maintain friendly relations with the USSR. However, the Third International Theory, and its application as explained in Muammer Qadhafi's *Green Book*, calls for more than mere non-alignment between East and West. It outlines an alternative political approach to all the important social, political and economic issues of the day. The approach of the Third Universal Theory is not only an alternative to the capitalist system of democracy, but also to the communist system.

Although Libya is the first country to adopt the *jamahiri* system of democracy, its principles and its solutions are relevant to any country. The important social and economic problems which exist in Britain, for example, could find a solution in such a system.

The Jamahiriya is about democracy and the exercise of authority. While other political systems appear to treat the individual with contempt, the Third International Theory calls for the individual to be liberated from economic and political oppression. It provides the individual with the right to participate directly in the decision-making process and to influence the decisions which are taken by society.

Social unrest, such as that witnessed in Brixton and St Pauls, Bristol, is a direct result of deprivation and isolation. When people suffer such experiences, it is natural that they should become alienated from society, and the authority which oppresses them. How can central governments, and even local authorities, resolve these problems when they remain remote from the people?

When community unrest occurs, then politicians and the media focus not on the causes of the problems, but how to contain the people's reactions. They debate the manifestations of unrest, but not the manifestations of oppression.

There are those, of course, who call for consultation with the oppressed people, underlining that such is an exception to the political process, rather than the rule. In the Jamahiriya, on the other hand, every individual has an automatic right to voice his grievances within

the political process. The individual is not kept remote from the decisions which affect his or her life by a Member of Parliament or some other representative. In Britain and other countries, community councils have been established through local initiative, to provide people with a forum in which to voice their feelings, but these exist outside the framework of the country's political system. In the Jamahiriya, basic people's congresses exist as the foundation on which democracy operates. Such congresses are an important vehicle for ensuring that social and economic problems are brought immediately and directly into the political debate of the country.

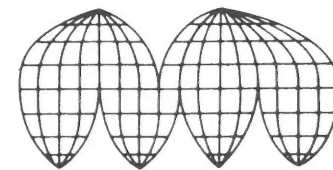
Moreover, the oppression which leads to riots is inter-related with exploitation. Especially in a time of economic depression this exploitation is most painfully felt. High prices for basic consumer goods in the shops, and high rents for the basic human right of a home are part of the capitalist system. While the majority of the people struggle to maintain their dignity and to meet the prices demanded of them, the Third Universal Theory calls for an end to such exploitation and profiteering.

The individual, whether young or aged, employed or unemployed, male or female, black or white, is an integral part of the community and of society. The question is whether society can consider itself progressive and humane so long as it permits a system based on divisions, exploitation and conflict. The solutions which must be sought are those which eliminate these problems, rather than contain the people's reactions to them.

If we consider the problem of unemployment which is reaching beyond the crisis point in Britain, this is not wholly due to a world recession, any more than it is the consequence of the Third World nations to acquire an equitable price for their natural resources. The root cause of the problem can be found in the greed of the capitalists to cream off their profits, rather than re-invest in modern technology. Had the future of industry, and thereby the well-being of the workers, been of paramount interest, much of the current problem would not exist. Had the workers in industry been given control in the management system, had democracy been applied to industry, the current economic crisis could have been avoided.

In a society based on co-operation and democracy, racial tensions and conflict can be replaced with harmony. The creation of local congresses provides the forum in which all citizens, whether black or white, can come to realise and understand what are the problems in society, and work together to resolve them.

A monthly
review of
Libyan, Islamic
and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

Palestine is No 1 issue, Arabs tell Haig

US SECRETARY of State Haig's first foray into the Arab homeland during early April was greeted with widespread opposition. Only in the US client states of Egypt and Zionist Israel did Haig receive any form of welcome, and even in the pro-American Arab states of Jordan and Saudi Arabia his reception was muted, in recognition of popular hostility to Washington's aggressive plans against the Arab people.

Haig's mission was to rally support for a greater US military presence in the region, and to emphasise America's claims of a Soviet threat to the area.

The Permanent Secretariat of the Arab People's Congress, which comprises popular organisations from throughout the Arab homeland, issued a statement in Tripoli on 31st March, in which it declared that Haig's visit 'marks a beginning of the execution of anti-Arab policies', and emphasised that 'the dangers of American policies in the Arab world have increased since Reagan took power'.

The APC statement added, 'The honour and freedom of the Arabs, bought at a high price by generations of our people, indeed our independence and our very existence, are in danger of being destroyed.'

Haig's purpose in visiting the region, US official said, was to establish a 'strategic consensus' among US friends in the region. The UAE newspaper *Gulf News* retorted in its 9th April editorial that the visit was 'a further extension of American interference in the region' and continued, 'What cannot be understood is how a consensus can be won when he himself has begun the search with a definite set of ideas which he is trying to impose on those so-called friendly countries?'

While Haig was keen to emphasise US concern at a Soviet threat to the Arab homeland, an argument designed to divert Arab attention from the real issues of American and Zionist infiltration into the region, he remained firm in his commitment to the Zionist occupation of Palestine.

The Arab view, expressed by the Arab People's Congress and



Zionist troops swagger arrogantly through Palestinian towns

in newspaper editorials throughout the Arab homeland, was that US-Arab relations could not be cordial so long as Washington remained committed to supporting the Zionist violation of Arab rights in Palestine, and in arming the Zionists for their persistent aggressions against Lebanon and the oppression of the Palestinian Arab peoples.

Dublin delegation visits Tripoli

AS PART of the Irish Republic's efforts to strengthen its relations with the Arab homeland, a Dublin government delegation visited the Libyan Jamahiriya during March. In recent years the Irish government has pursued an active policy of strengthening ties with various Arab countries on the political and trade levels.

Earlier this year the Irish Foreign Minister announced that although the Zionists would continue to be refused permission to open an embassy in Dublin, the PLO could establish a representative office in the Irish capital.

A signal of Ireland's interest in the export potential offered by

the Jamahiriya's development programme came three years ago, when the Republic staged its first exhibition at the annual Tripoli International Fair in the Libyan capital. The Jamahiriya is now Ireland's eighth largest export market, and the biggest outside the US and the EEC. Exports last year totalled £18 million, and look set to increase this year.

In what must be seen in Washington as a snub to President Reagan's efforts to isolate the Libyan Jamahiriya, an Irish delegation headed by Mr Albert Reynolds, the Republic's Minister of Transport and Communications signed a bilateral agreement in Tripoli on 21st March, covering health, agriculture, telecommunications and transport. Two days earlier an Irish-Libyan Friendship Society was inaugurated at a ceremony in the Libyan capital.

Peacemakers return to a heroes welcome

A HEROES' welcome was given to the first contingent of Libyan troops back from duty in Chad when they arrived in Benghazi on

27th March. Their return underlined the Jamahiriya's commitment to withdraw its forces from Chad once stability has been restored to the country.

Western journalists and observers visiting Chad have spoken of the peace and calm which the Libyan intervention has brought to the war torn country, but the government of President Oueddei now faces a challenge greater than that of civil war — the consequence of the French and Egyptian backed insurrection in this poor African state has left the economy in ruins.

The rebel leader Hissan Habre has retreated to the security of Sudanese territory, and the fragile peace which has been restored to Chad as a result of Libya's intervention to back the legitimate government in Chad could soon be challenged as the result of the Egyptian ruler's backing for the defeated Habre. A further challenge to Chad's peace comes from the Reagan administration in Washington. However, African leaders, contrary to some western intelligence claims, are opposed to giving support to Habre.

The massacres of Chadian civilians, carried out on the orders of Habre, raise the spectre of another would-be dictator desperate to seize power in Africa. Important African states are as keen as Muammer Qadhafi to ensure that Habre is denied the chance to leave his bloody mark on African soil.

However, Habre is courting Washington's support, and already Sadat is supplying weapons and military hardware, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Kamal Hassan Ali, disclosed at a press conference in Cairo on 16th March. And observers report a build-up of 90,000 Egyptian and Sudanese troops along the Sudanese-Chad border.

A *Christian Science Monitor* report on 31st March, filed from Cameroon, noted, 'Most experts, some in Chad, others with long experience there, dismiss Mr Habre's warning that the estimated 7,000 Libyans in Chad are a Soviet "Trojan horse" in central Africa. They see it as a relatively recent chord struck to attract the anticommunist chorus currently playing in Washington.'

The report by Tom Gilroy continues: 'Aside from the danger of rupturing a still fragile peace in Chad, United States backing for the Habre faction carries the

additional danger of angering Nigeria, a major oil supplier. The Nigerians view Mr Habre as a power-hungry rebel, and as a French pawn in the long rivalry between Lagos and Paris for influence in the region.'

The Libyan leader, in Benghazi to welcome the returning troops, warned, however, 'We have to be prepared to return to fight at any time if enemies again try to threaten Chad's security.' He recalled that Libya's move into Chad was only in response to an appeal for help from the country's legitimate government.

Libya has also made clear that its military presence in Chad is merely temporary. The Libyan leader repeated this point in an interview on Luxembourg Television on 26th March. The Jamahiriya wished to pull out of Chad, and Libyan forces would be withdrawn promptly if the political and military threats were removed, he said. However, Qadhafi pointed to Egyptian and Sudanese military concentrations along Chad's eastern border, and the arming by the Sudan of the remnants of Habre's renegades which could slow down the withdrawal process.

Call for merger of north-west African Arab states

LIBYA'S REVOLUTIONARY leader Muammer Qadhafi has called for a merger between the Jamahiriya, Mauritania and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) and for an alliance between these three countries and Algeria. He has also invited Mauritania, the SADR and the Lebanese National Movement to join the Arab Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, set up to oppose the American-sponsored Camp David accords and currently linking Libya, Syria, Algeria, democratic Yemen and the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

The Libyan leader's call came on 13th April at a meeting in Tripoli with Mauritania's Premier, Mr Sisi Ahmad Ould Bnei-jara, and Mr Muhammad Abdul Azia, Secretary-General of the Polisario Front, which is fighting for the independence of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara, occupied by Morocco following Spanish withdrawal in 1975. It was the Polisario Front that proclaimed the SADR in exile two days after the departure of the Spanish. The SADR has so far won the formal recognition of about 40 countries, including more than half the member states of the OAU. The Tripoli meeting was also attended by Mr Walid Jumblatt, Chairman of the Liba-



Large scale stores mean everything people need is available at virtually cost price: new supermarket in Tripoli.

nese National Movement, which groups all the Lebanese progressive organisations, and by Mr Ahmad Jibril, Secretary-General of the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command.

Col Qadhafi also urged the dismissal of Sudan from the Arab League and from the Islamic Conference Organisation because of Sudanese ruler Numeiri's restoration of diplomatic relations with the Sadat regime. This action, said Qadhafi, constituted an indirect recognition of Israel, with which Sadat has established full diplomatic links, and was therefore 'an alignment against the Palestinian people and their cause.'

The close relations between the Libyan Jamahiriya and Mauritania were underlined by Libya's strong condemnation of the abortive Moroccan-based coup launched against the Mauritanian government on 16th March. A statement issued by the Foreign Liaison Bureau the day after the coup attempt said: 'The Jamahiriya strongly condemns this treacherous attempt, which attacks the freedom and sovereignty of the country and endangers her peace and security.' It added: 'Once again, we affirm our full support for the Mauritanian government and people. We hereby declare that we consider any attack on Mauritania to be an attack on the Jamahiriya.'

The Jamahiriya has given the Polisario Front full material and political backing in its struggle against the Moroccan occupation, and one aspect of this assistance has been the establishment by the Social Security Secretariat of

centres in Libya for Sahrawi refugee children. Attention was focussed on this humanitarian aid in early April when the Education Minister of the SADR toured the children's centres.

Merchants' profiteering: An era comes to an end

PROFITEERING BY merchants keen to exploit consumer requirements will soon be a thing of the past in the Libyan Jamahiriya. A sign of the changes to come are the multi-storey supermarkets, resembling some of Britain's large multiple stores, which are now to be found in Tripoli and other Libyan towns and cities.

The new retailing system is intended to bring to an end the high profits which merchants put on the prices of goods in the shops, and to provide Libyan citizens with a wide range of goods from basic commodities to luxury items at more or less cost price.

Although the move will mark the end of private enterprise in the retail sector as it is known in capitalist countries, the new stores will be controlled by people's economic committees, implementing democratic control over the retail outlets.

On 14th March the General People's Committee for Economy announced that following resolutions of the basic people's congresses, ratified by the General People's Congress, the Jamahiriya's legislature, a timetable for private shops to be phased out had been decided.

Textile, shoe and household appliance shops would close by 28th March, butchers' shops by 30th April, and grocery stores by 31st December.

Foreign trade was taken out of the hands of private merchants some time ago, and a move against exploitation in the private retail sector had long been expected.

Two of the new supermarkets opened in Tripoli on 23rd March, bringing the total in the Jamahiriya to 225. Sixty more are scheduled to open soon, and construction contracts have been signed for 185 more. The latest, in the Roweisat district of Benghazi opened on 28th March.

The supermarkets are run by the General Markets Company, whose activities reach into the rural and desert areas of the country. The Sebha branch of the company has already opened 16 markets in the Sebha, Marzak, Ubairi and Shati regions, deep in the Sahara. Fifty more markets are planned for southern towns.

The opening of the markets will bring hypermarket style shopping facilities to the Jamahiriya, and each market has been constructed with parking facilities for shoppers arriving by car.

To ensure an efficient flow of goods into the stores, a series of major warehouses are being established to serve markets in various regions. A \$49.3 million contract to build six freight terminals for the General Markets Company has recently been signed with a Finnish company. Each terminal will have floor-space of more than 65,000 square metres, and will serve outlets in Tripoli, Benghazi, Derna and Zuwara. Their completion is scheduled for 1982.



National minorities must not be oppressed, Colonel Qadhafi says.

Minorities: Respect not oppression, demands Qadhafi

'NO NATIONALITY has the right to dominate other nationalities, and independent nations have no right to suppress minorities under their control,' the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi told a meeting of Arab and foreign students at Garyounis University in Benghazi on 13th April.

Brother Qadhafi was addressing a seminar staged to mark the anniversary of the seizure of the country's universities on 7th April 1976 by Libyan revolutionary students and teachers, in a way to ensure that revolutionary thinking was established as the basis for teaching in the Jamahiriya's educational establishments.

He told the students: 'Minor-

ities are the world's current headache, and wars are fought because of this problem.' The Libyan leader added that nationalism remains one of the most important driving forces of history.

Qadhafi continued, 'The Green Book seeks to put an end to this problem by insisting that no nationality has the right to dominate another nationality, and that independent nations have no cause to suppress minorities under their control.'

The Libyan leader pointed out that this does not deny the minorities' rights to exist within a nation, because these groups are the outcome of social interaction. 'Perhaps some of today's nationalities will become the minorities of the future,' he said.

'From a social point of view,' continued Muammer Qadhafi, 'no one has the right to deny a minority group the right to speak its own language, if it possesses one, to practice its own customs and uphold its *mores*. It would be oppressive and unfair to intervene in these matters.'

He told the students that there were two types of minorities. The gypsies were an example of 'the minority without a homeland or nation'. However, he went on, this is no reason for obliterating them. Qadhafi argued that only through the *jamahiri* system could such minorities exercise their full rights within society without discrimination.

Brother Qadhafi described the second type of minority as those who have a homeland and a nation, but like the Kurds and Armenians, are encircled by other nations. He said, 'The Kurds have been a source of a great deal of disturbance in the Middle East with their continuous war, conflicts, revolutions, uprisings and insurrections, both overtly and covertly. The same applies to the Armenians.'

The solution, continued Qadhafi, would be to return these minority groups to their homeland, where they would exist as a unified entity. He warned that unless this solution is achieved, there can be no peace.'

France aligns with US

THE PALESTINE Liberation Organisation's permanent representative in Paris, Ibrahim Sous was quoted on 20th March as saying France had 'changed' its stance on the Palestine question, especially in connection with the expected European initiative to resolve the issue. His remarks came in an interview published in the Beirut daily *As Safir*.

Mr Sous said France was 'beginning to co-ordinate closely with the United States'. He also said the French authorities are becoming 'increasingly inclined' to accept the US view that the American-sponsored Camp David accords between the Sadat regime and Israel are the 'foundation stone' for any settlement of the Palestine conflict.

Bahrain groups denounce Gulf security plan

RECENT MOVES by six Arab Gulf states to increase their co-operation in security matters, coupled with American and British moves to upgrade their military presence in the region, has confronted the peoples of the Gulf with a grave threat, according to a communiqué published by two Bahraini opposition fronts.

The communiqué says the people of Bahrain, the Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula are faced with more intensive opposition to their struggle for democratic freedoms as a result of the increased co-ordination between the region's 'tribal regimes, under the leadership of Saudi Arabia'.

The Bahraini communiqué goes

on to note with concern the recent plans for establishing American bases in the region and increasing the Western naval presence at the mouth of the Gulf.

Leaders of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and the United Arab Emirates will meet in Abu Dhabi in late May to establish a permanent regional security council.

Kuwait seminar on disabled

REPRESENTATIVES FROM 22 Arab states and 15 international and pan-Arab organisations discussed problems facing disabled persons in the Arab homeland at the regional seminar held in Kuwait from 1st-4th April. The conference was organised by the Kuwaiti National Committee for

the UN International Year of the Disabled, and its aim was to exchange information about the rehabilitation of the disabled and to familiarise participants with legal and legislative conditions regarding protection of the vocational, medical and social rights of the disabled. The keynote speech was delivered by Leticia Shahani, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for the Year of the Disabled.

It was the Libyan Jamahiriya that in 1977 proposed that 1981 should be designated as the UN Year of the Disabled. The Jamahiriya has a special interest in the problems faced by disabled people because of the large number of Libyans who have been severely maimed in accidental explosions of the land mines that remain in Libya in their thousands from the Second World War. The Jamahiriya is currently seeking compensation from Britain, West Germany and Italy for the heavy toll the abandoned mines have taken on her citizens.

Libyan Navy gets Evacuation Day boost

THREE WARSHIPS were commissioned into the Libyan Navy at a ceremony on 1st April marking the eleventh anniversary of the evacuation of British troops from the Jamahiriya on 30th March 1970.

The submarine, *Al Matraqa*, and minesweepers *Al Aasar* and *Attayer*, were commissioned at the Benghazi naval base during a ceremony attended by the Libyan leader, Muammer Qadhafi.

The addition of the three vessels to the Libyan fleet comes against the background of repeated violations of the Jamahiriya's territorial waters by ships of the US Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Algeria calls on US to share grain resources

A LEADING Algerian diplomat has urged the United States to share its huge stocks of grains with the world, and with developing countries in particular, in accordance with its previously announced position that natural resources are for all mankind.

Dr Mohamed Bejani, Head of the Algerian delegation to the UN, said in early April, 'such a concept should not be applied to oil alone, but should also cover all resources in the world, including those of the industrialised countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union.'

Somalia makes Arabic the official language

SOMALIA IS embarking on a programme designed to make Arabic the country's official language for all levels of education, the Somali President Mohamed Said Barre has announced in a written message to Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi.

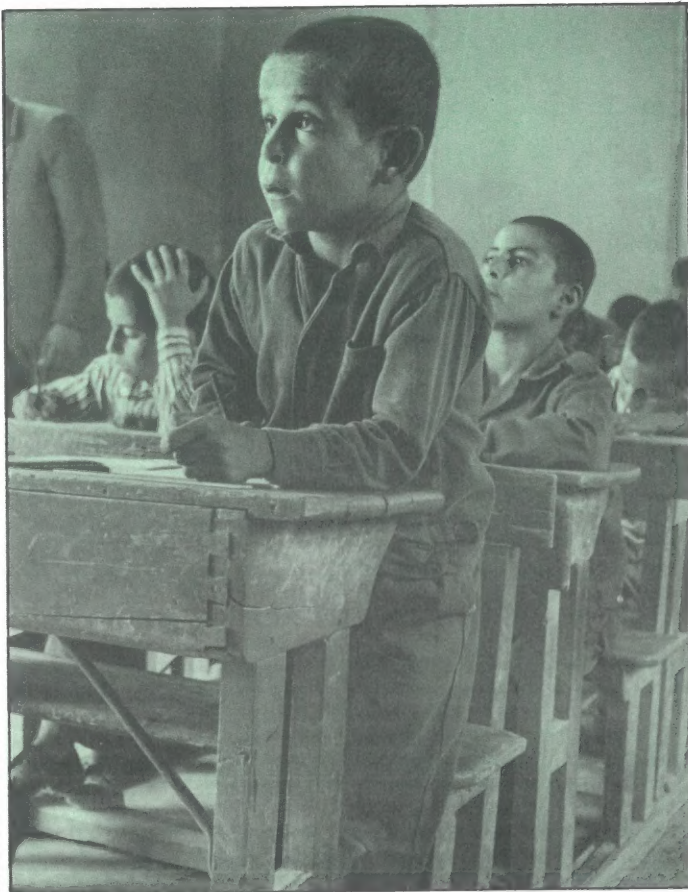
Sadat arming Baghdad regime

IN NOVEMBER 1978 a delegation headed by Lebanese Premier Salim al Huss left the meetings of the Baghdad Arab summit conference aboard a plane to Cairo in a last-ditch effort to make Egyptian ruler Sadat go back on the Camp David accords which he had recently signed with the Zionist premier Beigin and US President Jimmy Carter. Sadat refused even to meet the delegation, and was duly condemned to isolation in the Arab homeland by the Baghdad summit resolutions. Since the Iraqi invasion of Iran, aircraft have been regularly leaving Cairo for Baghdad loaded with arms, spare parts and ammunition to supply Iraq in its aggression.

According to Anis Mansour, the editor of the Cairo magazine *October*, the air-bridge to Iraq amounts to thousands of tons of Soviet-made equipment, which Egypt has been stockpiling since the mid-1970s. Other Arab sources put the value of Egypt's arms shipments to Iraq — which has received little or no military aid from the Soviet Union since the Gulf war broke out last September — at \$25 million in the six week period beginning 1st March.

Neither Sadat's assertion that the arms deal does not imply his regime's approval of Iraq's war, nor Iraqi insistence that buying weapons from the regime of a man widely regarded in the Arab homeland as a traitor does not mean endorsement of Egypt's treaty with Israel, alters the fact that this development is part of a major shift in the Arab homeland towards accommodation with US policies in the region.

Confirmation that Iraq is mending its fences with the United States came in an *International Herald Tribune* report on 13th April that Secretary of State Haig has sent Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Morris Draper to Baghdad after receiving strong signals from Iraq of an interest in restoring diplomatic relations, broken in 1967 at the time of the Six Day war. A few days before Draper's mission, the Reagan administration approved the sale



The Libyan Jamahiriya has increased its contribution to UNRWA to counter the threat that the agency's services to Palestinian refugees, including schools like the one pictured here, might have to be cut.

of five new Boeing jets to the Iraqi national airline, in a reversal of previous US policy. According to State Department sources, the signs of the Baghdad regime's desire for high level contacts with the US were so strong that Haig himself had been on the point of being invited to Iraq.

New move to rid Mediterranean of foreign bases

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has renewed its efforts to bring about the removal of all foreign military bases in the Mediterranean region, with Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi urging Italy to close US military bases in its territory.

Since the 1969 Al Fateh Revolution in Libya, the Jamahiriya has adopted a firm stand towards making the region a neutral zone, free from all foreign military forces and bases.

In a 1st April interview in the Rome daily *Il Giornale d'Italia*, Qadhafi said that the Jamahiriya would support Italy if she sought the removal of US bases in that country. He pointed out that such a position was a logical extension of the Jamahiriya's efforts to end the American presence in the Arab homeland.

Guard are receiving training at camps near Miami. It also added that members of the CIA would like to see closer working with such groups.

Meanwhile, a former US secret agent said in Bonn on 31st March that key documents used by the State Department to suggest the Soviet Union organised arms deliveries to guerrillas in El Salvador are forgeries. Mr Philip Agee, a former CIA employee in Latin America, said the CIA faked the papers and arranged for their 'discovery' by a visiting US diplomat in El Salvador.

Nicaragua looks to the Jamahiriya

TWO SENIOR members of the Nicaraguan government visited the Libyan Jamahiriya during March as part of a continuing process to strengthen relations between the two countries. Nicaragua faces major economic and social problems inherited from the fascist regime of General Somoza, and these seem destined to be compounded by the Reagan administration's efforts to cut aid to the Central American state as part of Washington's efforts to stem popular uprisings in the region, and to undermine radical regimes which assert independence from the US.

One outcome of the Nicaraguans' visits to Tripoli is that the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi and Mr Abdel-Ati al Obaidi, Secretary of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, have each accepted invitations to visit the Central American state.

The political complexion of the Nicaraguan government bears similarities to the principles of Libya's Al Fateh Revolution, with firm commitments to non-alignment and improving the standard of living for the impoverished population. In their struggle against the US backed Somoza regime, the Sandinistas were given support by the Libyan Jamahiriya. Foreign Minister Padre Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, in Tripoli during early March, held talks with Muammer Qadhafi, and thanked him for the assistance which Libya had extended to the Nicaraguan people during the revolutionary struggle. He also signed an agricultural co-operation agreement at the conclusion of his visit on 11th March.

Later in March further agreements covering economic, trade and cultural relations between the two countries were signed at the conclusion of the second high-ranking Nicaraguan mission to the Jamahiriya that month, headed by Interior Minister Tomas Borge.

Refugee aid gets \$19 million to avoid cuts

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is amongst four countries which have contributed a total of \$19 million to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA). The Libyan decision to make additional funds available was prompted by news that the agency may have to cut back its important relief operations because of a \$44 million deficit. Also contributing extra funds were the United States, Saudi Arabia and Japan. However, a \$25 million deficit remains, and the agency plans the dismissal of 5,000 teaching staff unless the deficit is reduced.

US plans Latin American insurrection

FORMER MEMBERS of the Nicaraguan National Guard, the main repressive instrument of the overthrown Somoza dictatorship, are being trained in the United States for guerrilla campaigns in Nicaragua, the *New York Times* reported on 17th March. The paper disclosed that at least 600 of the former National

RECENT MOVES taken by Sudan restoring diplomatic relations with Egypt to ambassadorial level, offering use of military facilities in Sudan to American forces, and calling for a meeting of the countries of the Nile Basin — signify an attempt by Egypt and Sudan to create a geopolitical bloc in the region.

This question is being given serious consideration in Arab political circles on the left, who are asking what the relation is between these three moves by President Jaafar Numeiri and his prior announcement that he had foiled a coup plot.

Exiled Sudanese opposition leader Al-Sharif Al-Hindi spoke for many when he declared in London that there are 'no Communist or Soviet plots, no secret coup attempts in Sudan. These are merely fantasies dreamed up by Numeiri to fleece the rich Arab states and give political justification to his attracting American forces to Sudan'.

An Egyptian columnist writing in the Lebanese newspaper *As-Safir* on 7th March noted that the announcement of the failed coup attempt was preceded by several measures taken by the regime curtailing the freedoms of such institutions as the journalists union.

Another development which has attracted attention is the establishment of new military bases at Fasher in West Sudan, the district in the south, and at Suwakin on the Red Sea. The American Ambassador at Khartoum is said to have visited these bases, which have aroused considerable popular opposition in the country, according to *As-Safir*'s sources.

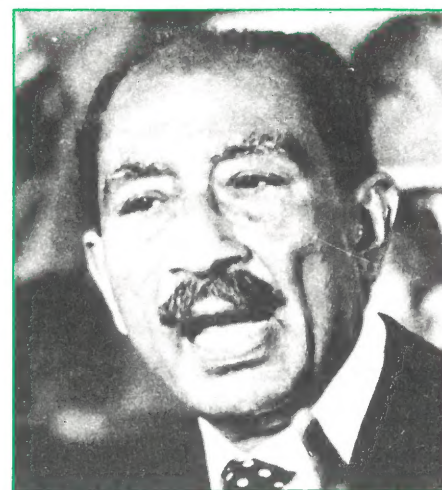
Two new runways have reportedly been completed in the Sudan recently, nine more are planned, and one other is in the process of being expanded. Moreover, the Sudanese Red Sea port of Suwakin is reported to be undergoing expansion, while an extensive road network is being built linking military facilities in the country, according to *As-Safir*.

It is noted that internal air traffic in Sudan is very limited, with only four planes in operation, leading to the conclusion that many of the new runways could be designed for use by the American Rapid Deployment Force.

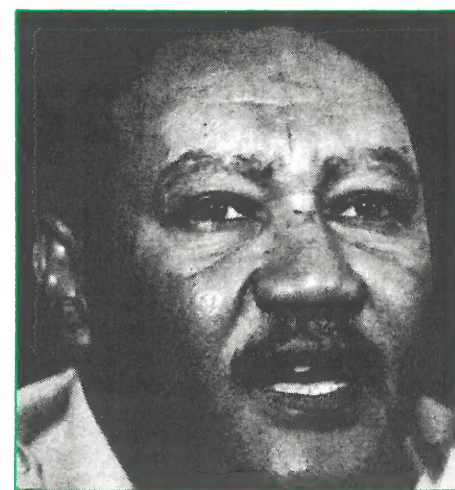
President Numeiri's move, if followed by action on the ground, would provide a major platform for American Rapid Deployment Forces, thus making it easier for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to approach the American troop presence in the region, since these troops would not be on Saudi soil.

Sudan has furthermore been supplying arms to the rebel forces of Chad opposition leader Hissene Habre, who has bases in the Darfur province of Sudan.

President Numeiri's decision to restore full diplomatic relations with Egypt is not on the face of it a major development. It marks the first violation by an Arab state of the 1978 Baghdad summit resolution which called for a rupture of



Sadat and Numeiri; acting together to bolster American imperialism in the Arab homeland.



Sudan and Egypt move to form American front

THE CREATION of a new geopolitical bloc to divide the Arab homeland, and boost US influence throughout East Africa, is the motive behind the strengthening of relations between the Sudan and Egypt. David Butter looks at recent events in the Sudanese capital, and considers the important and far-reaching implications.

relations with Egypt if President Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel. When the treaty was signed in March 1979, Sudan withdrew its Ambassador from Cairo, but retained diplomatic relations

NUMEIRI ADOPTS HIS POSITION

THE DECISION by Sudan's President Numeiri to restore diplomatic ties with the Sadat regime has brought a sharp rebuke from Mr Abdulati Ubeidi, Secretary of Libya's Foreign Liaison Bureau. Addressing Arab envoys in Tripoli on 27th March, Mr Ubeidi said that the Numeiri move was in breach of resolutions taken at the November 1978 Baghdad Summit conference, which condemned the Camp David agreements between Egypt and Israel.

The Libyan official regretted that the recent Arab League Council of Ministers' meeting in Tunis had 'adopted a compromise stand towards this treacherous move'.

on a lower level, pleading that it had special ties with its northern neighbour. However, taken with other evidence of the growing identification of regional policies between Sudan and Egypt — in co-operation with the United States — the move appears to signify a serious attempt to create a new geopolitical bloc in the region.

The prime security interest in the Middle East for the West is what could be called the 'oil arc', stretching from the Gulf, round the Arabian peninsula to the head of the Red Sea.

A naval and air base on Sudan's Red Sea coast available for American troops to use, along with other inland bases within striking distance of Libya, would complement the facilities already available for the US in Egypt, on Egypt's Red Sea coastline, in the Gulf of Aden (Berbera, Somalia), and Oman. Another Western asset is France's major naval base in Djibouti at the entrance to the Red Sea.

The Soviet Union, meanwhile, has only the use of naval facilities in Aden.

The call for a conference of countries in the Nile Basin (Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Ruwanda, Burundi and Tanzania) is seen as an attempt to build a solid wall dividing the western and eastern sectors of the Arab world. This wall would be dominated by an Egyptian-Sudanese alliance tied to the United States.

The danger inherent in these developments, according to the *As-Safir* columnist, is that they imply reducing the Arab-Israeli conflict to marginality beside the issue of control over the 'oil arc' and creating a new power bloc in North Eastern Africa.

The apartheid state in Palestine

IN THEIR self-proclaimed declaration of independence, the Zionists declared that the state of Israel was to be a Jewish state. Indeed, the forced evacuation of whole communities of Palestinian Arabs from their homes was a necessary step if the population of the territory seized by the Zionists was not to have an Arab (Muslim and Christian) majority rather than a Jewish majority. By its very nature, Christians and Muslims inside the Zionist state could expect nothing more than second class citizenship in their homeland.

A simple study of the Zionist state's citizenship laws underlines the reality of the second class status which was to be the fate of the Palestinian Arabs. 'Israeli' citizenship is automatically conferred on any Jew from anywhere in the world who emigrates to Palestine; children born of Jews in Palestine also receive Israeli citizenship. However, an Arab child born within the Zionist state has no automatic right to citizenship. It must first be proved that the baby's parents have Israeli citizenship, and under the complexities of Zionist law, thousands of Palestinians who have lived since 1948 inside the Zionist state are still denied Israeli citizenship.

In the political arena, the opportunities for the Christians and Muslims inside the Zionist state to present their political views, and oppose the Zionist exclusivity of the state, are restricted. It is illegal to form a political organisation which challenges the Zionist concept that Israel must be a Jewish state. Hence, although general elections are held to elect the government, no party is entitled to put up candidates if their platform is, for example, that the Zionist state should be transformed into a secular, democratic state.

The paternalism of Zionism towards the Arabs within the settler state follows the classic lines adopted by the apartheid system in South Africa. Indeed it was not until the late 1970s that the Israeli Labour Party, which has ruled Israel for all except four years since 1948, opened its membership to non-Jews. The same applied to the Israeli trade union movement, the Histadrut. Even today, both have special departments for Arab affairs, as does the Prime Minister's office.

The Zionists have long shielded 'Israel' from charges of discrimination because only a few laws of the state are discriminatory. The apartheid system is enforced through the application of the laws, and more important, through a series of

ON THE 14th May 1948, as British forces evacuated Palestine, which they ruled under the Mandate, Zionist terrorist groups launched a bloody war against the Palestinian Arabs as a prelude to declaring the creation of the Zionist settler state in Palestine. On this anniversary, Ali Aziz looks at a rarely discussed aspect of the Palestine question—the Palestinian Arabs who remained in their homes, and who since have lived in the Zionist state.



Palestinians can expect only the ruins and refuse of the Zionist state.

quasi state organisations which undertake much of the duties normally held by government ministries. In particular, the Jewish Agency is an important arm of the welfare state — providing social benefits only to Jewish families. Additionally, for example, many benefits are only given to those who have served in Israel's armed forces (not usually a role permitted for any Arab in the Zionist state).

As Ian Lustick, professor of political science at Dartmouth College, himself an American Jew, observes in his recent book *Arabs in the Jewish state: Israel's control of a national minority* (University of Texas Press, 1980): 'Unlike apartheid, the system of control is not explicitly recognised. Nevertheless, thanks to a sophisticated system of control, it has been possible for the Israeli regime to manipulate the Arab minority, to prevent it organising on an independent basis, and to extract from it resources required for the development of the Jewish sector, all this at a very low cost, in terms of resources expended, overt violent repression and unfavourable international publicity.'

However, statistics help to underline the scope of Zionist discrimination against the Palestinian Christians and Muslims.

Some 500,000 Palestinians live within the pre-1967 borders of the Zionist state. They are acutely deprived of welfare services and benefits. A study of Arab infant mortality in the Jewish state in 1978 showed a level of 14.2 per 1,000 for Jews, compared with 31 per 1,000 for Arabs. Life expectancy amongst Arabs is also lower than amongst Jews.

Development of non-Jewish communities is also deprived of funds. Although the Arab population has tripled since 1948, 635 Jewish settlements have been created, but not a single Arab village development has been permitted. Provision of basic services to Arab communities is also restricted. In the general budget for development in Israel for 1979-80, from a total of £16,540 million, only 2 per cent was allocated for Arab areas.

Four years ago, the former Adviser on Arab Affairs to the Zionist Prime Minister's Office, Mr Shmeul Toledano described the status of Israel's Arab citizens thus: 'All key positions dealing with the country's economics are occupied by Jews. They hold all power in their hands. When it is decided to devalue the pound or to reduce subsidies, the Arabs have no say even though this directly concerns the half-a-million Israeli-Arab citizens. In effect, the Israeli Arabs are not represented on any forum where decisions are made which directly concerns them.'

Given that this affront to human dignity is a fundamental aspect of Zionism as it is manifested in the Zionist state, how do the would-be peacemakers solve the Palestine question without ridding this Holy Land of the manifestations of Zionism? Partition of Palestine into a Jewish-Zionist state and a Palestinian Arab state merely confers legitimacy on apartheid in Palestine.

WHILE THE continuing build-up of American forces in the Arab homeland proceeds, boosted by the sudden announcement from Khartoum that US bases are now welcome in the Sudan, there is no hint in the western press that such an escalation of a US military presence in the region could endanger regional security, let alone that it is a challenge to the territorial integrity of the Arab nation.

What is noticeable is that the Libyan Jamahiriya continues to be the focus of press claims of a threat to the security of the United States. The question as to how Libya could threaten the territorial integrity of the US does not arise, since the premise of western logic is that the US states, and her western allies have a divine right to roam the globe, interfering in the internal affairs of the economically and militarily weak nations. A challenge to the US is not a challenge which threatens US territory, but the economic and political interests of the US on an international scale.

The stand of the Libyan Jamahiriya towards current events cannot be understood if taken out of the context of the Al Fateh Revolution's firm commitment to ridding the Arab homeland of all foreign military bases, and its advocacy that democracy must replace feudalism if the rights of the Arab individual are to be fully respected. Such a point of view is, of course, the very antithesis of American policy.

The line of thinking in Washington is that if a Third World country is not ruled by an American surrogate regime, then it must be acting as a proxy for the Soviet Union. This view is well presented in the western media. In recent weeks the main thrust of coverage concerning the Jamahiriya has been to portray Libya as a Soviet satellite, posing a threat to America and to Western Europe.

The presentation of Libya in this role began in the early days of the Reagan administration, although claims of a Soviet presence in the Jamahiriya have hardly been convincingly supported with evidence. As early as 31st January Secretary of State Haig was blasting the mirage of Soviet threats, with a Department spokesman branding Libya a 'surrogate' of the USSR, according to the *Daily Telegraph*.

It was a line to be quickly adopted by a servile press, notably in the US. On 1st March, Drew Middleton, writing in the *New York Times* referred to 'a strong possibility that the Soviet Air Force would have use of Libyan bases in the event of a crisis in the Mediterranean'. This article was also published in the *International Herald Tribune* on 4th March.

John Cooley provided the follow-up. On 10th March in the *Washington Post*, under the headline 'Soviets in Libya: A new Mediterranean Power', and in the *IHT* on 13th March, under the headline 'Evidence of Soviet Buildup in Libya points to grave military threat to West', Cooley

The role of the press in Western foreign policy

IN THE first of a regular series of articles, Louis Eaks reviews recent coverage of Libyan affairs in the western press, and considers the role of the media in presenting the foreign policy targets of western governments.

struggled to present his State Department briefing. Given the hysteria of the headlines, and much of what Cooley wrote, the argument appeared to collapse with these words, 'Senior US analysts agree that Qadhafi has not allowed the Russians to use Libya's ports or airfields'.

Naturally Cooley and others point to the fact that the Jamahiriya's arms come almost exclusively from the USSR, but none points out that since the Al Fateh Revolution in 1969, Libya has been keen to diversify its arms purchases. Some have come from France, although the co-operation in the field has diminished since Libya moved to challenge what it saw as France's colonial role in Africa. Libya, during the Wilson administration, sought a large arms contract with Britain, only to see Zionist influences in the Labour Party block the deal in a pitch of hysteria.

Cooley also asserts that Muammer Qadhafi's body-guard is staffed by East Germans. Apart from the intention of presenting Libya as being under the control of foreign forces, the claim also suggests that the Libyan leader lives under some kind of permanent threat to his life. Anyone who has attended a rally addressed by Qadhafi will testify that security is surprisingly lax as the leader's open motorcade makes its way through cheering crowds of Libyans. There is not a non-Arab face to be seen amongst those few security personnel present.

Nor do any of these distinguished journalists consider that there might be a reason for Libya to need a good military defence. The threats to Libya abound, from Egypt to the East, and from the American fleets with their airborne divisions in the Mediterranean.

Little attention was given in the western press to one recent publicly declared threat on the life of Muammer Qadhafi, which seemed to qualify for the kind of terrorism which the Reagan administration declares it rejects. The reason might be

that it came from Reagan's latest surrogate leader, President Numeiri in the Sudan. The headline in the *International Herald Tribune* on 2nd April summarises the report: 'Sudan leader says world should join his "war" to overthrow or kill Qadhafi'.

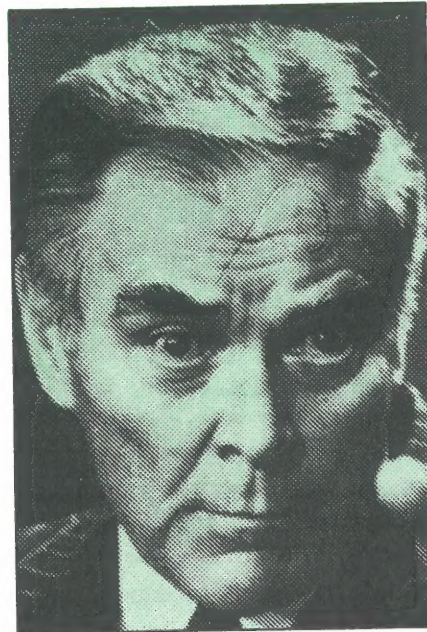
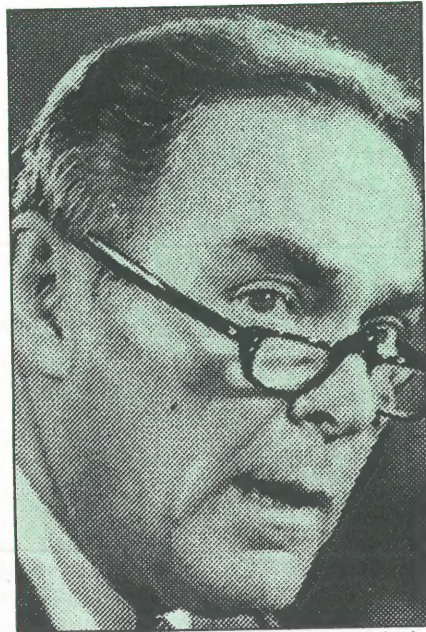
On 23rd February *Time* magazine, a willing voice of the State Department and a vital propaganda organ to US foreign policy, reviewed what needed to be done to boost US State Department policy. It also turned to Libya, and declared, 'Congress should repeal or amend legislation that limits the ability of the CIA to conduct clandestine operations abroad.' It added that America 'needs French help in combatting the Libyans and other international muggers in sub-Saharan Africa'. With US foreign policy becoming increasingly assertive, it only begs the questions as to who are the real 'muggers'?

And while Libya has been under constant attack for its perfectly legitimate peace-maker role in Chad, the activities of Egypt receive little attention. It is hardly surprising that the US based *Jewish Week* on 8th March should write in glowing terms of Sadat's interventionist foreign policy. It noted, 'He has sent a 50 man advisory group to Somalia . . . Egypt has moved the bulk of its forces away from its Eastern Front [Israel] and sent them to face Libyan lines along the Western Desert frontier . . . Egypt has also increased the size of its forces in the Sudan . . . bolstered the capacity of the Sudanese armed forces with arms and training . . . Egypt continues to arm the anti-Libyan forces in Chad, as well as providing a safe haven for them.'

While Haig schemes away on the military level, the press prepares public opinion for all eventualities, or as George F Will, in a *Washington Post* column published in the *International Herald Tribune* on 26th March, puts it, 'If this conservative administration is to do its most important duty, then eventually — perhaps soon — it must enlist the public's support for strenuous, complex exertions regarding the larger world.'

What does he mean? He continues, 'This will involve not only procuring complex, expensive military assets, such as the MX missile, but also attempting to change the policies, and perhaps the governments, of nations like Cuba and Libya.'

As Alexander Haig flew into London from his less than fruitful visits to the



Libya is a principal target for the three-pronged US attack sponsored by Secretary Haig.

Getting the 'Triple Squeeze' from Haig

AN ARTICLE by the informed Washington journalist Claudia Wright in the London based New Statesman on 10th April provided an insight into both Haig's global military strategy, and the role which the press is playing in preparing public opinion for the activities which Haig is planning once he gets his military organisation in a state of readiness for action.

Claudia Wright reports on the 'Triple Squeeze' of Haig's strategem for the Middle East. She writes, 'This is a plan to surround every government inimical to the Reagan administration, every potential trouble spot, or choke-point in the Middle East, North Africa and the Mediterranean, with three types of American forces — a naval task force with enough shipboard ar-

tillery and carrier-launched aircraft to support the second type of force, marines or special infantry, to be flown in from land bases on the territory of friendly, client countries nearby. The third type of force, to be infiltrated across borders, is a mixture of expatriate subversives and mercenaries, who can parade as national liberators recognised by Washington.'

The Washington journalist specifically refers to Washington's plans for the Libyan Jamahiriya: 'Around Libya, for example, there are to be American reinforcements and staging facilities in the Egyptian Western Desert, covert aid for the Hissein Habre guerrilla force in south-west Sudan, on the Chad border, close-in Sixth Fleet patrols in the Gulf of Sirte, and improved air

defence and surveillance operations from Tunisian territory.'

According to Ms Wright, Haig's contingency plan has a fourth dimension, aimed at deterring the Soviet Union from coming into the fray which the Secretary of State is planning in his war-games room. It adds a nuclear dimension to an American conflict planned on the edges of Europe. She writes: 'A fourth squeeze, to be prepared in tight secrecy and flashed at the Soviet Union to deter it from coming to its clients' rescue, will come from nuclear weapons, stocked at the moment at locations in Greece and Turkey, but available for dispersion around the western Mediterranean if the secret part of talks with Spain and Portugal can be settled as Haig would like.'

► Middle East capitals (Cairo and Tel Aviv excepted), one Fleet Street journalist said in reference to Haig's Middle East and world policies, that the man 'is deranged, a modern day Hitler'. The dilemma, to put it mildly, is whether Haig will surpass the numbers who died in Hitler's holocaust before the press and public opinion force him out of the American administration.

Ironically, a further comment from the same journalist emphasised how journalists write what is demanded of them by the publishers and the Foreign Office rather than what they know to be the truth. Our conversation turned to Chad, and Libya's role in that once strife-torn, and still impoverished African state. Yes, he admitted, Libya has received a bad press, and as far as he was concerned Habre, the rebel leader, by his deeds, had proven to be a new Idi Amin, and Africa, not to mention Chad, was well rid of him.

Many western journalists have now visited N'djamena to see for themselves the consequences of Habre's war against the Chad government. The social and economic problems created by the civil war which Libyan intervention brought to an end are enormous, as is the consequential human deprivation. In recent weeks Chad, and Libya's peacekeeping role there, have tended to fade from the headlines. Journalists visiting the country have not been able to find two lines of copy to put Libya's role there in a bad light. Only occasionally does Habre raise his head to make wild pronouncements from the security of the Sudan, or Sadat embarks on wild accusations against Libya to distract international attention from his own warmongering role in the region.

However, Ian Murray made a valiant attempt to keep up the anti-Libyan line in a despatch from the Chad capital pub-

lished in Murdoch's Times on 10th April. 'The Libyan presence,' he claimed, is 'deeply resented', although throughout his 1,000 word report he provided not a further word to substantiate his claim. Other journalists have pointed out that the peace and tranquility which Murray found in N'djamena is the direct result of Libya's aid to the government of President Oueddei. And even Murray said, of the President, that he is 'accepted as a compromise leader acting as a go-between of the different factions'. Indeed, he is so recognised in the south of the country, where Murray reported that President Oueddei was given 'a rapturous welcome last month'. Such a welcome for the President who invited Libya to send troops into Chad hardly seems to support Murray's claim that the Libyan presence is 'deeply resented'. No doubt he felt obliged to his London editors to put that line in?

RELATIONS BETWEEN Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya have been good during the past year, but there is still room for progress. This is the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

Mr el Gaid believes that there exists good will on both sides, on which stronger and closer relations between the two countries can be established. However, the only path forward, he argues, is through mutual respect and a positive on-going dialogue.

Given the persistent hostility towards the Libyan Jamahiriya by the British media, Mr el Gaid's remarks may seem surprising. The apparent policy of British newspaper publishers to report only anti-Jamahiriya material without mentioning the achievements attained there since the 1969 Al Fateh Revolution remains a major obstacle to creating closer and friendly relations with the British people, and it underlines the logic behind the Bureau's goal of establishing a direct-dialogue between the British and Libyan peoples.

Mr el Gaid points to the principles of the Al Fateh Revolution's Third Universal Theory, and the concepts of democracy contained in *The Green Book*, written by the Libyan leader Muammer Qadhafi. If these concepts of democracy were applied in any of the western countries, they would be beneficial and provide a solution to current social problems such as unemployment and community unrest, declares the Secretary of the Libyan People's Committee.

'A solution to all these problems, in this country for example, could be found if the British people knew the facts about the working of democracy in the Jamahiriya,' says Mabrouk el Gaid. 'If you take unemployment and the riots in Bristol and Brixton, all these manifestations happen, we believe, because people are exploited. If people knew how we apply democracy through the Third Universal Theory and the *Green Book*, they would understand how the Jamahiriya has overcome exploitation which leads to these problems.'

Many British radicals and sociologists would probably agree. In newspaper articles and in parliamentary debates, one major cause of recent unrest in Britain is considered to be the failure to recognise the social problems of the inner cities. The concept of the Libyan Jamahiriya is based on people's committees and basic congresses in every community, through which every Libyan citizen can attend and voice opinions about the community's problems. The consensus of these meetings is then conveyed to the General People's Congress, the supreme legislature in the Jamahiriya.

The principles of democracy have extended from the Jamahiriya to its



Mabrouk el Gaid, Secretary of the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London.

Mutual respect the basis for relations between Britain and Libyan

IN A special interview with *Jamahiriya Review*, the Secretary of the People's Committee at the Libyan People's Bureau in London talks about relations between Britain and the Libyan Jamahiriya. He sees the potential for good relations between the two countries, with negotiations continuing to resolve outstanding issues.

missions abroad. In 1979, the Libyan Embassy in London, along with other foreign capitals, was taken over and transformed into a Libyan People's Bureau.

Asked to elaborate on the functions of the Bureau, and how it differs from the old-style embassy, Mr el Gaid replied: 'You have to understand that an embassy is ruled by an ambassador, who is given instructions by the foreign ministry and the Head of State, and who has absolute power over the running of an embassy. This has changed with the creation of the People's Bureau. The responsibilities given to an ambassador are now held by a committee, which is chosen by the Libyan people living in Britain.'

'This philosophy,' he continued, 'is

that the committee discusses all matters, and reach a common decision for decision making, taking into account all opinions on the subject under review. In the past such decisions were taken by one man. On the other hand the Committee receives instructions from the People's Committee of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, and implements the policies of the General People's Congress.'

A second important principle behind the establishment of the people's bureaux was the belief that relations between countries must be based on a people-to-people dialogue, rather than between governments, which don't reflect the opinions of the people. The creation of the Jamahiriya in Libya brought with it an end to traditional style government. The changes were more than a change of name from ministry to secretariat, and minister to secretary. From the grass-root communities to the secretariats, decision-making remains firmly in the hands of the citizens. It was logical, therefore, that embassies should change.

Given the radical differences between British concepts of democracy, and those practised in the Jamahiriya, it is to be expected that relations between the two countries have room for improvement. The Al Fateh Revolution in 1969 brought to an end British influence and control over the Libyan monarchy. It meant the end to a British military presence in the country (along with the Americans, whose troops ►



►were also evacuated), and the start of a dramatic change in relationships.

Libya's determination to exercise control over her natural resources, the oil fields long exploited by British and other western companies with little financial return for the Libyan people, was not a move welcomed in London and other western capitals.

Shortly before the Al Fateh Revolution swept the old Idris regime from power, Britain had sold Libya an expensive defence system, which was to be installed along the border with Egypt. Britain feared that its surrogate regime in Tripoli faced a serious threat from the revolutionary regime in Cairo led by Gamal Abdul Nasser. Idris paid in advance for the delivery of the system, and after the revolution Libya naturally cancelled the contract and asked for the return of its money. Faced also with Muammer Qadhafi's demand that Britain evacuate her forces from Libyan territory.

Almost twelve years on, Britain has still not paid these monies back to Libya. The consequences in terms of creating obstacles to closer political and economic relations are understandable.

For many a country, Britain's cavalier attitude might have resulted in a complete break of relations. However, the Libyan economy is not dependent for its survival on the payments, but there is an important principle at stake.

Negotiations between Britain and the Jamahiriya have been in progress for some years now without reaching a conclusion, with the Libyan side patiently pursuing its goals. At stake is a larger share of the Libyan market for British exporters, with the Jamahiriya reluctant to open the trade gates to Britain while these matters remain outstanding. Libya naturally prefers to deal with western countries which have no disputes with the Jamahiriya.

However, there is optimism that these matters will be resolved. Mabrouk el

'Riots . . . happen, we believe, because people are exploited. If people knew how we apply democracy through the Third Universal Theory and the Green Book, they would understand how the Jamahiriya has overcome the exploitation which leads to these problems.'

Gaid says that Britain has given 'a good impression to the Jamahiriya' because 'they have started to negotiate all these problems'.

He adds, 'As long as there are negotiations going on, we are hopeful of positive results. People from the United Kingdom and the Jamahiriya are discussing the matters carefully. By agreeing to negotiate, Britain clearly recognises the Libyan case. We are now discussing the details.'

Recently, the Libyan Jamahiriya has raised the subject of compensation for damage to Libyan property and people resulting from the World War II battles fought on Libyan territory, and the subsequent injuries inflicted on Libyans by land-mines hidden on Libyan soil. It is a subject which the Bureau has raised with the British authorities, and Mabrouk al Gaid appears satisfied with the results. He points out, 'Most of the European countries concerned with this problem have agreed to pay compensation.'

Nevertheless, one issue on which Britain has not yielded is that concerning Libyans seeking refuge in the UK. Last

year the Jamahiriya sought Britain's co-operation in not allowing these people to escape the Libyan courts by remaining in the UK. Described by Mr el Gaid as 'criminals convicted under Jamahiriya law', he sees the British position as aiding them in their efforts to evade justice. 'They should not be protected and given homes in Britain,' he declares.

'How would Britain react if the Jamahiriya gave refuge to British criminals?' he asks. 'If British citizens attempted to create problems for Britain from Libyan territory, the Jamahiriya would stop them immediately. These convicted people come to Britain only to be a source of trouble for the Jamahiriya. We respect Britain's laws, and ask that Britain respects the laws of the Jamahiriya.'

He continued, 'The Jamahiriya wants good relations with all of Europe, and especially Britain. However, if thieves and criminals from the Jamahiriya come to Britain and receive protection, this will naturally cause problems between the two countries, and affect the relationship.'

'We want to develop relations on the basis of two independent countries. We want to look to the future and good relations with Britain. We do not judge Britain by her past,' added Mr el Gaid. 'The relationship between Britain and the Jamahiriya is now good. We believe that there is scope for friendly relations between the two countries, especially in the field of trade and development.'

Asked how he judged Britain in relation to other Western countries such as France, Italy and the United States, Mr el Gaid responded, 'The relationship between the Jamahiriya and other countries is basically dependent on their stand towards the Arab countries. If these countries back a strategy which is hostile to the Arabs then we cannot have friendly relations with them. Their attitude to the Palestine question is important.'

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya is currently negotiating to buy about £43 million worth of British military equipment for army firing ranges, it was reported in February. With Britain grappling with its deepest recession since the 1930s, and with unemployment approaching three million, it might have been expected that such an export opportunity would have been greeted with unqualified acclaim. But on 13th February the *Financial Times* reported that, 'In London, British officials reacted with concern at the possibility of military equipment going to Libya.' The reported 'concern' of the officials underlines the negative attitudes towards Libya that have tainted all British governments since the Al Fateh Revolution swept away the western backed regime of King Idris in 1969. These, together with the associated campaign in the British media aimed at denigrating the Jamahiriya, hardly contribute to an atmosphere conducive to an expansion of trade relations between the two countries. But despite the background of sometimes strained political relations, British companies have been warmly welcomed by the Libyans and have scored remarkable successes in the Libyan market.

Last year British exports to the Jamahiriya reached a record £288.4 million, a 14 per cent increase over 1979 and more than double the £134.647 exported in 1976. Last year only Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt and Iraq ranked above Libya as Arab destinations for British goods. The Jamahiriya in 1980 took 7.5 per cent of total UK exports to the entire Arab homeland, compared with 6.6 per cent five years ago. And on the world level, 0.6 per cent of Britain's total exports went to Libya, up from 0.52 per cent in 1976.

Not only have British exports to the Jamahiriya been growing; they have been expanding at a faster rate than those of the UK's major competitors. Britain currently lies in fifth place after Italy, West Germany, France and Japan as a source of imports for Libya, a position she has held for several years. But while the top four exporters to the Jamahiriya increased their sales by between 2.2 and 2.6 times in the 1976-79 period, the UK managed a figure of 3.9. In 1976 the UK accounted for 5.3 per cent of Libya's total imports, a proportion that had risen to 7.5 per cent by 1979.

While Libya has assumed growing importance for Britain's exporters, the significance of the UK as a destination for the Jamahiriya's exports has declined sharply in recent years. Crude oil continues to dominate Libyan exports, and with the development of Britain's North Sea oil fields, which contain oil of a similarly high quality to that produced in Libya, the UK has all but ceased importing oil from the Jamahiriya. Last year Britain imported goods — mainly oil — from Libya valued at only £46.528 million, a 72 per cent decrease on the figure five years earlier. This declining importance

Trade: Britain boosts exports to the Jamahiriya

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S development programme is providing major export markets for British companies, with the balance of trade heavily in Britain's favour. Despite cool political relations between Britain and Libya, Dr Alan George finds that British companies are welcome in the Jamahiriya as suppliers of technology and consumer goods, and in the consultancy field.

whole goods worth £512.128 million more than she exported to the region.

If Libya's exports are still dominated by a single commodity — oil — her imports are much more diversified. Their breakdown by category reflects both the targets of the country's ambitious programme of socio-economic development and the Jamahiriya's importance as a market for consumer goods.

In 1979 machinery and equipment worth £66.3 million accounted for just over 26 per cent of imports from Britain. In second rank came £32.4 million worth of clothing and accessories, accounting for 13 per cent of Libya's imports from the UK. Road vehicles and other transport equipment valued at £31.8 million took a 12.5 per cent share of imports from Britain. Imports of telecommunications equipment valued at £21.4 million made up 8.4 per cent of British sales in the Jamahiriya.

Examples of British successes in the supply of capital and consumer goods are numerous. The UK construction plant manufacturer Frederick Parker, for instance, has since the beginning of this year won orders totalling about £1 million from Turkish contractors working in Libya. The most recent was a £350,000 order for a mobile crushing plant and other mobile crushing and screening equipment. The crushing plant was the first of a new design to be sold by Parker, and has a capacity of 250 tons per hour. Parker's other two orders were each for about £300,000.

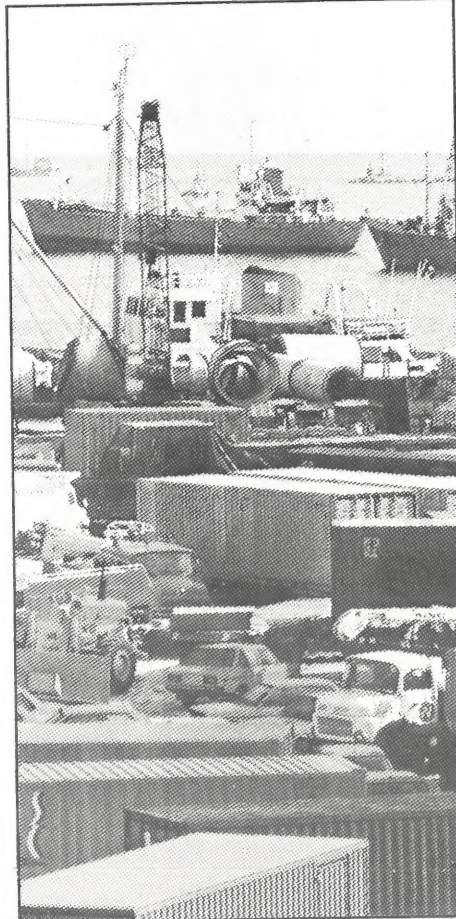
An outstanding example of British success in the Libyan consumer goods market was the £17 million order placed by the Jamahiriya with UK firms at the end of last year for the supply of a wide range of clothing and footwear. Companies included in the contract are Courtaulds, Carrington-Viyella, Tootals, K Shoes and the Lancashire Footwear Manufacturers Association. The contract brought Libyan clothing and footwear orders in Britain last year to £30 million and it is reported that this figure could double this year.

While British firms have proved successful in clinching major deals for the supply of goods, they have been unable to compete with their Italian, West German,

► Japanese and South Korean rivals in the contracting field. No British firm can match the success of Germany's Friedrich Krupp, for instance. Its recently reported capture of a \$9.2 million contract to construct two desalination plants at Marsa Brega brought Krupp's total contracts in the Jamahiriya to a breath-taking total of about \$923.8 million.

The real forte of British firms in the Libyan market is not, however, reflected in the figures for trade in goods. British consultant companies have captured about half the entire market for consultancy work in the Jamahiriya, and are making enormous invisible export earnings for the UK. One of the latest successes in this field is the management consultancy contract, reportedly worth at least £10 million, won this year by Davy McKee (Oil & Chemicals), part of the UK's Davy Corporation, for a \$1,000 million fertiliser complex to be built at Sirte, on the coast about 400 kilometres east of Tripoli. The role of another British consultant company, Stone & Webster Engineering Ltd, at the massive petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf, on the Libyan coast some 350 kilometres south west of Benghazi, is examined on page 17.

British successes in the Libyan market to date should not be taken as meaning there is not great scope for further involvement of British companies in Libya's development programme. Although, some companies, and not only



Tripoli port: open for more trade from Britain

from the UK, claim to have encountered administrative difficulties, particularly delays in contract payments, when dealing in the Jamahiriya, the Libyans, however, are very much alive to such deterrents to trade expansion, and are making determined efforts to ease the difficulties. The London journal *Middle East Economic Digest* reported on 27th February that a new accounting system, eventually to be computerised, has just been introduced by the Municipalities Secretariat, and this, says the journal, should ease the cash-flow problems of contractors working for this agency. If successful, the system will probably be extended to other Secretariats. MEED says the key Planning Secretariat is showing particular interest in the new system.

It is a tribute to British companies that they have achieved such major successes in the Libyan market, despite the often unhelpful attitude of the UK government and media towards revolutionary Libya, and despite the administrative difficulties that can arise in the Jamahiriya no less than in other Third World countries. The evident determination of the Libyans to overcome these administrative problems, and the patient refusal of the Jamahiriya to react to the attitude of the UK government by discriminating against British firms, point to a continued growth of the trade ties that have been so mutually beneficial to the people of Libya and Britain.

The Tripoli International Fair: Where was Britain?

WITH INVESTMENTS in the Libyan Jamahiriya's new five year development plan set at \$6.5 billion, a British presence might have been expected as a foregone conclusion at Tripoli's International Trade Fair, staged from 3rd-10th March. Sadly, there was none. British companies argue that participation would not have led to any major orders, but this view is difficult to comprehend, writes Dr Alan George. In 1979 orders to the tune of \$83 million were signed as a direct result of attendance at the Fair, and it was confidently predicted that this year's figure would be even higher.

But even if British firms had not been able to capture any business immediately, their presence at the Fair might well have led indirectly to orders. Libyans, no less than anyone else, appreciate gestures of goodwill. Certainly other countries, and their companies, understand that long-term benefits can accrue from participation in the Tripoli Fair, even if they attend only to 'fly the flag'. The West Germans, Italians, Turks, Poles and Spaniards were all at this year's Fair primarily for this reason.

One factor behind the absence of

a British presence is the unimaginative policy of the UK's Department of Trade. The Department will consider assisting companies wishing to exhibit overseas only if a sufficient number express an interest in so doing. Since no UK companies have expressed a wish to attend the Tripoli Fair this, or in any recent year, no steps have been taken by the Department to promote British exports at the Fair. Given the UK's current economic plight, this short-sighted policy on trade promotion appears remarkably passive. It is, after all, precisely in export markets that Britain's economic salvation lies. It seems extraordinary that the Department of Trade felt unable to organise a British pavilion on its own initiative, regardless of any approaches from companies.

The Jamahiriya had itself approached the British government asking whether there would be a British presence this year, and it was not difficult to understand how, rightly or wrongly, the absence of a British pavilion could be interpreted as yet another sign of official British hostility to the revolutionary policies of the Jamahiriya.

This year's attendance by 43 coun-

tries was an all-time record. South Korea, which established full diplomatic relations in January this year, had the largest foreign representation. South Korea's exports to the Jamahiriya last year totalled \$180 million, a 470 per cent increase over the 1979 figure.

Because of the increasing accent on agriculture and industry at the show, interest has been expressed by participants in the possibility of Tripoli hosting specialised fairs. The Jamahiriya's Department of Tourism and Fairs is alive to this interest and has now agreed in principle to expand into this field. As a trial run, the department has given the green light for a fair to be staged between 1st and 11th June, concentrating on the needs of children, for example health care, toys, education and clothing.

Because of the growth in the number of participants at the Tripoli Fair, the existing site is no longer large enough. One of the schemes in the new five year plan is the construction of a new fairground on a 62 hectare site 9 kilometres west of the Libyan capital, although Libyan officials believe it might be another four years before the project gets under way.

A remarkable feat of engineering at Ras Lanouf

BRITISH CONSULTANT companies have played an important role in the Jamahiriya's mammoth socio-economic development programme, having generally been more successful in the Libyan market than UK contractors. The involvement of London-based Stone & Webster Engineering Ltd in the enormous oil refinery and petrochemicals complex under construction at Ras Lanouf, about mid-way along the Libyan coast, highlights the type of consultancy work at which British companies have excelled.

While Stone & Webster are consultant engineers for the ethylene plant under construction at Ras Lanouf, they have recently won acclaim for their design (with a contribution from Vesi-Pekka Oy/Oy Kaista and Sebbas of Finland) of the sea water intake structure currently being completed as part of the water supply system for the entire industrial complex. The system will be capable of supplying up to 128,000 cubic metres per hour of sea water for cooling and desalination plants. One of the largest such structures ever built, the intake is made of 7,000 cubic metres of reinforced concrete and weighs 17,000 tonnes. Located some 150 metres inland, the intake will be supplied with sea water flowing by gravity through two 12 feet diameter pipes from an inlet structure sited 750 metres offshore at a depth of 10 metres. After passing through the intake, where stilling basins and a series of filters will remove seaweed and silt, the water will be pumped through 6 kilometres of 108 inch diameter main running through the refinery and petrochemicals complex.

While the intake is remarkable for its size, the way in which its first stage was installed is also unusual for such a massive structure. Normally such an intake would be built *in situ*, but this proved impossible at Ras Lanouf. The land surface at the site is about one metre above mean sea level, and the water table is roughly at sea level. The local geological formations, and particularly a thick seam of limestone, are highly porous and any excavation would have quickly flooded. The water could, of course, have been pumped out faster than it came in but the enormity of the excavation required, the time needed for construction of the intake and the very high rate of seepage meant that such a pumping operation would have been both impractical and uneconomic.

Alternative methods of construction

THE ACHIEVEMENTS of the Libyan Jamahiriya's development programme cannot be fully appreciated without some insight into the engineering problems which often have to be overcome. Dr Alan George looks at one such difficulty, and reports how British consultants and the Azzawiya Oil Refining Company overcame a major construction problem with a remarkable feat of engineering.

considered included *in situ* work with water being pumped out of the excavation from within a water resistant lining; the construction of a more shallow intake basin; and the construction of the intake with its base at a higher level, with sea water to be pumped into it. All were rejected, however, because of technical, financial or schedule drawbacks. Finally, it was concluded that the intake structure would have to be built on dry land on a site adjacent to its final location in a deep excavation, and floated to its final position. This mode of construction stemmed from a proposal by the civil engineering contractor, Technoexportstroy of Bulgaria, and their sub-contractor, Vesi-Pekka Oy of Finland. The decision to go ahead along the lines proposed was taken by the client, the Azzawiya Oil Refining Company, in consultation with Stone & Webster Engineering.

Work began in March last year with ground levelling at the construction site and the commencement of blasting and excavation at the installation site. Work at the latter entailed the removal of some 50,000 cubic metres of rock to create an enormous 10 metre deep trench. Seepage of sea water was as rapid as early site investigations had suggested it would be, and 90 per cent of the work had to be carried out with the pit filled with water.

Work on the concrete intake structure itself began on 28th May last year, and took about eight months to complete. To minimise its weight, and thus aid the

floating operation by minimising the draught, the structure was designed to be built in two stages. The first, comprising about 65 per cent of the total structure, entailed only the minimum necessary for the intake to be floated into position. The second phase, currently under way, involves completion of the structure *in situ*.

To provide a body of water across which the intake could be floated, both the construction and installation sites were surrounded by an earth dyke 5 metres high and 8 metres wide at the top, with its inner sides and the entire area enclosed covered with plastic sheeting to avert undue leakage. Sea water was then pumped into the dyked enclosure. Filling to the point where the structure began to float took two days. Everything went according to plan, with the massive structure floating with an average draught of 3.7 metres. Towing the intake the 170 metres to its final site took three hours. A crane mounted on the dyke at the far end of the excavation pulled the structure forward, while a heavy dragline was stretched from the intake to the dyke behind the structure, to act as a brake if required. To control lateral movement, two wires were extended from each side of the structure to bulldozers, which moved along the dyke parallel with the intake. With the move completed, the wires were detached from the crane and bulldozers and connected to winches anchored to the dyke. The structure was carefully located above the excavation by activating the winches as required.

The final step was for the intake structure to be lowered into place by allowing the artificial reservoir to empty into the sea through two pipes through the dyke. This left the structure floating within its excavation at ground water level. For two days a controlled flow of water was let into the structure until it finally came to rest — on 5th February this year. This marked the end of the first phase of construction.

More water was allowed in to ensure a firm bedding pending its permanent fixture by steel bars protruding 9 metres into the rock through the base of the intake. This final anchoring with steel bars is currently under way. Before the intake is ready for commissioning, the outstanding civil engineering work must be executed, and the necessary mechanical and electrical equipment installed. Final completion is scheduled for later this year.

Flying doctor service will expand medical services

ONE OF the greatest problems facing the Jamahiriya's health planners has been the sheer vastness of the country, with many villages located far from the specialised medical facilities which, throughout the world, are found only in large towns. This obstacle to the provision of the full range of health care services to all the Libyan people will soon be overcome, however, with the start of a 'flying doctor' service, for which the Health Secretariat has bought three helicopters and two fixed-wing aircraft. Reporting the imminent start of the service, the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA said on 12th March that 30 pilots for the medical aircraft have already completed their training abroad. The service will enable doctors promptly to treat serious cases in remote areas, and allow patients speedy access to hospitals when specialised treatment is required.

Urban development scheme offers homes for 8,000 families

THE DESIGN and consultancy contract for the latest of the Jamahiriya's major urban redevelopment schemes — for a 110 hectare area of Benghazi — has been won by a Japanese joint venture of Yachiyo Engineering Company and Kisho N Kurokawa. The contract is reportedly valued at one per cent of the project's total cost of \$725 million. Tender documents for the scheme, to be prepared by the Japanese joint venture, will be issued by the end of this year.

The scheme, for the city's east coast corniche and scheduled for completion in five years, entails the construction of homes for 8,000 families, a 17 storey hotel, an eight storey supermarket and a 21 storey office block. The development will also include a theatre, shopping centres, mosques, cultural centres and leisure facilities.

In another development reflecting the scale of urban development work planned for Benghazi, the Municipality in March issued a tender for the construction of 140 kilometres of sewerage and stormwater drains.

In recent weeks Japanese companies have also had success in the construction field else-

where in the Jamahiriya. On 20th March it was reported that a joint venture between C Itoh & Company and Nakanogumi Company has won a \$53.3 million contract to build non-production facilities at the steel works to be constructed at Misrata, on the coast about 150 kilometres east of Tripoli. Work will include the building of the central administration offices and dining rooms.

New transport links with Italy and Britain

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya's rapid socio-economic development has entailed enormous imports, while the country's expanding productive capacity has led to ever-increasing exports of goods other than crude oil. The key role of trade for the Jamahiriya's development has necessitated efficient transport links with the outside world, and recent weeks have seen the establishment of new air and sea services which have enhanced the country's accessibility to its suppliers and markets.

British Caledonian Airways (BCal) and Libyan Arab Airlines (LAA) have reached an agreement to operate joint cargo services between London, Tripoli and Benghazi, with the first flight under the new arrangement having left London on 2nd April. BCal Boeing 727-320C freighters now fly three scheduled services a week to Tripoli and a weekly service to Benghazi is due to start soon. BCal and LAA have also agreed to increase scheduled passenger flights. The British airline will operate five return flights to Tripoli each week, while LAA will fly to Tripoli from London five times weekly and to Benghazi twice a week.

In a bid to increase cargo flights from London, Frankfurt and Rome to Tripoli, LAA is negotiating an agreement with the UK cargo airline Tradewinds for the use of its Boeing 707 freighters, it was reported on 20th March.

The Jamahiriya's internal air services are also being extended. On 3rd March LAA inaugurated a new thrice weekly return service from Benghazi to the north-eastern coastal town of Tobruk.

March saw the start of a new sea link between Libya and the UK, and an increase in sailings between the Jamahiriya and Italy. A new scheduled service between the British east coast port of Goole and Tripoli and Benghazi was inaugurated on 10th March. With sailings every three weeks, the service is operated by two vessels from Norway's Normed Line. On 27th March it was re-

ported that Italy's Messina Line has increased scheduled sailings from the Sicilian port of La Spezia to the Libyan capital in response to a surge in demand. There are now departures every two to three days, a level of sailings that will be maintained for as long as demand holds up.

The Jamahiriya, however, is determined not to remain dependent on foreign shipping lines for long, and the new five year plan calls for the expansion of her fleet to 36 ships. By 1985, the final year of the plan period, about 60 per cent of all Libya's imports will be carried on Libyan-owned ships. The latest addition to the fleet is the 153,000 tonne oil tanker Hani, delivered by a Swedish yard on 23rd March. Two other tankers, the Kardabiya and the Fuwayhat, are to be delivered by Sweden soon. Last November the Jamahiriya took delivery of the Al Wahda, a 1,487 dwt ultra-modern refrigerated cargo ship, intended to supply Libyan food processing plants with sardines and tunny throughout the year.

Leisure contracts: Infrastructure for tourism

SWEDEN'S SKANSKA Cementgjuteriet has won a \$217 million turnkey contract from the Jamahiriya's Social Security Secretariat to build a hotel and two tourist villages. For completion in three years, the work entails the construction of a 288-room hotel in the centre of Benghazi, one tourist village at Jazour, near Tripoli, and another at Gar Younis, on the outskirts of Benghazi. Each village will have a hotel with about 150 rooms, beach cabins, restaurants, sailing facilities, swimming pools, shops, bowling alleys, mosques, clinics, administration offices and staff accommodation. The Jazour village will also have about 100 villas. Skanska, as well as constructing the hotel and tourist villages, will supply all their equipment, down to beds and cutlery.

New desert town for rural development

THE TURKISH firm of Libas has reportedly won a \$39 million contract from the Jamahiriya's Housing Secretariat to build a town for workers and their families at the Maknosa agricultural scheme, deep in the Sahara about 180 kilometres south west

of Sebha. The new town, for completion in mid-1983, will have about 200 homes, a 12-classroom primary school, a clinic, market, mosque and bus station. Infrastructural work includes roads and a sewage network. This is the latest in a string of successes for Libas in the Libyan market which by early this year had brought the total value of contracts won in the Jamahiriya since 1975 to \$743 million.

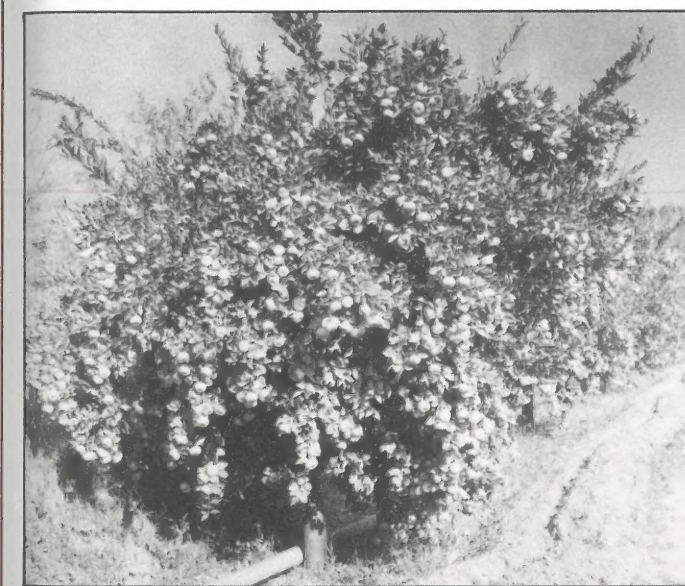
While the Maknosa agricultural scheme is located in one of the most arid regions in the world, and depends on subterranean water and sophisticated sprinkler irrigation machines, Libas is not neglecting the development of more conventional agriculture. In the Jebel Akhdar region in the north east of the Jamahiriya, progress is well advanced on a scheme involving the establishment of 2,000 small farms, varying between 28 and 40 hectares in area. In March it was reported that a Libyan team was touring southern England to make the final selection of 130 pedigree Jersey heifers, to be shipped in April to the new farms. The cattle contract, valued at about £100,000 is being managed by two UK firms, Farmkey and Jersey Island Semen Exports.

Agricultural developments in the Jebel Akhdar also include a 66 hectare plantation of apple trees, and in March it was reported that a \$1.5 million contract for the supply of 80,000 trees has been won by International Transamerican Corporation. The US firm is to survey the site in June and July this year to check the drainage. The trees will be shipped in autumn and planting is scheduled to start in November. The company will also supply workshops and training centres.

Desalination plants for Mersa Brega

THE TOTAL value of contracts on which West Germany's Friedrich Krupp is working in the Jamahiriya was brought to \$923.8 million with their award, announced in March, of a \$9.2 million contract for the construction of two sea water desalination plants at Mersa Brega, on the Gulf of Sirte about 250 kilometres south of Benghazi.

Mersa Brega is one of several coastal towns being developed as major industrial centres, and in semi-arid northern Libya desalination plants are essential elements in these manufacturing complexes. Each of the two plants destined for Mersa Brega will have a daily capacity of 2.4 million litres, and completion is scheduled for mid-1982.



Top to bottom: trees planted on reclaimed land; the harvest from the desert; another step towards agricultural self sufficiency. The Jamahiriya is always developing its existing agricultural resources, and researching new ways to provide supplies of water essential for agricultural expansion.

Sub-Saharan water for coastal irrigation

IT IS an irony of Libya's geography that beneath her vast areas of desert lie huge quantities of high quality water. Until now, these enormous reserves have been tapped mainly for agricultural schemes deep in the Sahara, such as those at Kufra, Maknosa, Sebha, Mirzak, Sirir and Awbaree. In early March, however, the Jamahiriya News Agency JANA reported plans to pipe millions of cubic metres of water from the desert for irrigation and domestic consumption along the coast.

Planners at the Secretariat for Agrarian Reform and Land Reclamation have given the green light for the start of data collection for the project, which they describe as the biggest of its kind in the world. Wells will be dug in the Sirir and Tazerbo regions in the south east of the Jamahiriya, and two million cubic metres of water per annum will be pumped through large diameter pipes to the coastal towns of Benghazi, Marsa Brega and Sirte. The water will be used for domestic consumption and for the irrigation of 50,000 hectares.

Continued expansion in electric power sector

ONE OF the first major contracts in the power sector to be awarded since the launch of the new plan has been won by West Germany's Brown Boverie & Compagnie (BBC), and entails the doubling of the capacity of the power station at Derna, about 350 kilometres north east of Benghazi. Two 65 MW steam turbines are to be installed, the first for commissioning in 30 months, and the second three months later. At present the Derna station, which serves the 220 kV national grid, has one 9.4 MW and three 20 MW turbines. Part of the increased capacity will reportedly be used to power a one million tonnes per year cement works being built in Benghazi by Japan's Mitsubishi Heavy Industries.

The Derna power station also has two desalination units, each with a daily capacity of 4,600 cubic metres and, according to *Middle East Economic Digest* on 3rd April, the Electricity Secretariat is considering a proposal by BBC to provide a further two units, each of 20,000 cubic metres per day capacity.

Also in the electric power field, it was reported on 3rd April that Yugoslavia's Energoinvest has won a \$34 million contract from the Electricity Secretariat to design, supply and erect 900 kilometres of 66 kV double circuit transmission line. The line is for the Sirte region, and work includes the construction and installation of switching stations. The contract was negotiated by Electric Project, a Libyan-Yugoslav joint venture which has secured contracts for Energoinvest since 1975.

Refinery and petroleum coke plant contracts for Italy

THE INDUSTRIAL sector has pride of place in the Jamahiriya's new \$6.5 billion five year development plan for the 1981-85 period, with allocations set at \$13,508.9 million, 23 per cent of total plan expenditure. This new emphasis on industrial development was underlined in March by the announcement that Italy's Foster Wheeler Italiana has won design and supervision contracts for a petroleum coke plant which will supply the Jamahiriya's first aluminium smelter, and for a new oil refinery.

The Italian firm will undertake engineering, procurement and construction supervision for the 170,000 tonnes per annum petroleum coke plant, to be built at Zuwara, about 100 kilometres west of Tripoli. The contract, which also provides for the training of Libyan staff to run the plant, is valued at \$45 million. The plant's total cost will be \$500 million and completion is scheduled for two years.

The coke plant complex includes a distillation plant, a catalytic cracking unit, a liquefied petroleum gas recovery unit and associated utilities. Its output of calcinated coke will be used in a 100,000 tonnes per year aluminium smelter to be built at Zuwara. Power for the smelter will come from fuel gas from the coke plant, whose by-products will include gasoline and fuel blend stocks. According to *Middle East Economic Digest* on 20th March, Switzerland's Alusuisse is well placed to win the consultancy contract for the aluminium smelter, which is one of the centre-pieces of the new five year plan.

Foster Wheeler Italiana's second contract — valued at \$20 million — is for process design, and the selection and supervision of contractors, for a 220,000 barrel per day oil refinery to be built at Misrata. The refinery will take four years to build, at a total cost of \$770 million.

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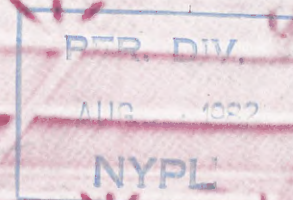
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